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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SSO-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/024W		
				-----7B222F   170727Z /38			

O 170725Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9465  
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 06591

S/S-0 PLEASE PASS TO AF/C AT OOB

ALSO FOR AF/E, AF/RA

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, BONN FOR KLEMP, PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, OAU, RW, TZ

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PAGE 02            DAR ES   06591   01 OF 02   170726Z  
SUBJECT:   ARUSHA V:   OBSERVERS MEETING IN DAR

REF:   A)   DAR ES SALAAM 06458   E)   STATE 371411  
-       B)   DAR ES SALAAM 06518   F)   BENTLEY-FULLER  
-       C)   KIGALI 04680               PHONECON 11/16/92  
-       D)   STATE 364080

1.   CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2.   SUMMARY.   IN A MEETING WITH OBSERVER  
REPRESENTATIVES AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN DAR ES

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SALAAM ON NOVEMBER 16, GOT FONMIN DIRIA CALLED ON THE OBSERVERS TO APPLY MORE PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES TO REACH AGREEMENT. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT THE GOR WOULD BACK AWAY FROM ARTICLES 14, 21 AND 46 IN THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE MRND. THE TANZANIANS WERE LOOKING FOR MORE LEVERAGE TO HELP MOVE THE RWANDAN PARTIES THROUGH THIS ROUGH PATCH. THE OBSERVERS HERE WEREN'T ABLE TO PROVIDE MUCH, THOUGH THEY AGREED TO STAY IN TOUCH AND STAY ENGAGED. BY THE END OF THE MEETING, THE GOT APPEARED TO ACCEPT THAT THE ACTION, FOR THE MOMENT, IS IN KIGALI. AT THE LAST MOMENT, DIRIA ADDED THAT PRESIDENT MUSEVENI OF UGANDA WILL ARRIVE HERE FOR A ONE-DAY VISIT NOVEMBER 19, AND RWANDA WILL BE INCLUDED ON THE AGENDA. END SUMMARY.

3. TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AHMED HASSAN DIRIA CONVOKED A MEETING OF OBSERVER REPRESENTATIVES TO THE RWANDAN NEGOTIATIONS ON NOVEMBER 16. DIRIA WAS ASSISTED BY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST AMI MPUNGWE AND ACTING PRINCIPAL SECRETARY SALEH TAMBWE.

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THE OBSERVERS ATTENDING WERE UGANDA, BURUNDI, GERMANY, BELGIUM (REPRESENTED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS), FRANCE, ZAIRE (REPRESENTED BY CHARGES) AND THE U.S. (POLOFF).

4. DIRIA OPENED BY REVIEWING THE RESULTS OF ARUSHA IV, AND THE VISITS TO DAR ES SALAAM OF RWANDAN PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR ENOCH RUHIGIRA AND RPF MILITARY COMMANDER KAGAME (REF B). DIRIA EXPRESSED CONCERN WITH WHAT HE SAW AS MRND PRESSURE ON THE GOR TO BACK AWAY FROM COMMITMENTS MADE IN ARUSHA, PARTICULARLY ON ARTICLES 14, 21 AND 46 OF THE OCTOBER 30 PROTOCOL. HE NOTED THE MEMORANDUM SENT TO THE RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER ON NOVEMBER 10, SIGNED BY FOUR MRND MINISTERS, "REJECTING" THOSE CLAUSES.

5. DIRIA WAS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE GOR HAD NOT REPLIED TO PRESIDENT MWINYI'S OFFER OF A TANZANIAN VENUE FOR AN ALL-PARTIES, INFORMAL "BRAINSTORMING" SESSION TO TRY TO GET OVER SOME OF THE REMAINING HURDLES. HE NOTED THAT THE RWANDAN CABINET IS MEETING NOVEMBER 19 TO DISCUSS THE PROTOCOL AND THE ISSUES OF THE TRANSITIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF PORTFOLIOS. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WAS CONTINUING TO URGE BOTH PARTIES TO BE FLEXIBLE, ALONG THE LINES

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OUTLINED IN REF B.

6. AMBASSADOR MPUNGWE ADDED THAT WITH THE SITUATION SO FLUID, THE GOT WAS CONCERNED THAT THE CEASE-FIRE WOULD BE ENDANGERED BY A CONTINUING GRIDLOCK. AS UGANDAN HIGH COMMISSIONER MATOGO INTERJECTED, IF THE TALKS SEEM TO BE FOUNDERING, "THE BOYS IN THE BUSH

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WILL GET RESTLESS."

7. THE UGANDAN, GERMAN AND BELGIAN AMBASSADORS SHARED THIS CONCERN WITH THE FRAGILITY OF THE CEASE-FIRE. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THE GOR SHOULD BE STRONGLY DISCOURAGED FROM TRYING TO RE-OPEN OR RENEGOTIATE THE CONTROVERSIAL CLAUSES IN THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL. U.S. AND FRENCH REPS, WHILE AGREEING WITH THESE THOUGHTS, ADDED A NOTE OF CAUTION. U.S. REP CONVEYED THE U.S.G.'S STRONG APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORT THE TANZANIANS WERE MAKING IN THESE TALKS. HE THEN DREW FROM INFO IN REF C AND GUIDANCE IN REFS D AND E TO

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SUBJECT:   ARUSHA V:   OBSERVERS MEETING IN DAR

CONVEY OUR IMPRESSION OF A COMPLEX AND FLUID SITUATION IN KIGALI, NOTING THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE MRND OBJECTIONS TO THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE MEETINGS PLANNED FOR THIS WEEK IN KIGALI OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE RWANDANS TO SORT THESE PROBLEMS OUT BEFORE RETURNING TO THE TABLE IN ARUSHA. THE FRENCH REP NOTED THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FELT HE WAS LOSING CONTROL OF THE PROCESS. THE RISE OF THE CDR PRESENTED A NEW AND THORNY SET OF ISSUES. HE AGREED THAT THE RWANDANS SHOULD HAVE A CHANCE TO SORT THESE PROBLEMS OUT.

8. THE BURUNDI AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF A TANZANIAN-HOSTED ALL PARTIES MEETING. HE FELT THERE WAS A DANGER OF DEVELOPING A PARALLEL NEGOTIATION THAT WOULD DISPLACE THE ARUSHA TALKS. DIRIA OBSERVED THAT THE GOT WAS ALREADY HAVING TROUBLE WITH VARIOUS PARTIES SEEKING TO INFLUENCE THEM OUTSIDE THE ARUSHA PROCESS; HE MENTIONED THAT THE RWANDAN

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PRIME MINISTER HAD SOUGHT TO VISIT TANZANIA TO SEE  
PRESIDENT MWINYI LAST WEEK, EVIDENTLY WITHOUT THE  
KNOWLEDGE OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA.

8. MPUNGWE ASKED WHETHER THE OBSERVERS THOUGHT A  
FACE-TO-FACE MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND  
RPF CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE MIGHT HELP BREAK THE LOGJAM.  
UGANDAN REP MATOGO DISCOURAGED THIS, SAYING HE THOUGHT  
GIVEN HABYARIMANA'S PREVIOUS REACTION WHEN THE MATTER

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CAME UP IN ARUSHA IV IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT HELP TO  
RAISE THE MATTER AGAIN.

9. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH THE GENERAL OBSERVATION  
THAT THE OBSERVERS SHOULD STAY CLOSELY ENGAGED AND IN  
TOUCH WITH THE FACILITATOR. DIRIA EMPHASIZED THAT  
WHILE RECOGNIZING THE COMPLEXITY OF THE INTERNAL  
SITUATION IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THESE COMPLEXITIES NOT  
BE PERMITTED TO DERAIL THE TALKS. A RENEWAL OF THE  
FIGHTING COULD HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES, BOTH FOR  
RWANDA AND THE REGION. AT THE LAST MOMENT, DIRIA  
ADDED THAT UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI WILL ARRIVE IN  
DAR ON NOVEMBER 19 FOR A ONE-DAY VISIT, PRIMARILY  
FOCUSED ON BILATERAL ISSUES. BUT RWANDA WOULD  
CERTAINLY BE ON THE AGENDA. DIRIA FINALLY CLOSED BY  
RELAYING PRESIDENT MWINYI'S PERSONAL THANKS TO THE  
OBSERVERS FOR THEIR CONTINUED ASSISTANCE, AND ASK THAT  
THE OBSERVERS CONTINUE TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH THE  
GOT.

10. COMMENT: THE GOT IS CLEARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE  
DIRECTION THE INTERNAL DEBATE IN RWANDA IS TAKING, AND  
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE RPF-GOR NEGOTIATIONS. LIKE  
OUR COLLEAGUES IN KIGALI, THE TANZANIANS FEEL THAT THE  
NOVEMBER 23 DATE IS GETTING WOBBLY. THEY WERE LOOKING  
FOR A LEVER TO HELP THE PARTIES GET OVER THIS ROCKY  
PATCH, BUT THE OBSERVERS HERE CAME UP EMPTY-HANDED.

EWING

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